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ABSTRACT

With a change in emphasis of our economy from heavy industry, such as steel, to a computer and electronics base, there has emerged a new managerial class of professionals in administrative and technical positions. The underlying motivation of this class is not the pursuit of profit, but rather control of the economy and establishment of a perfect society, eliminating the wealthy capitalists and the poor and unemployed. During the height of industrialism, there was a surplus population of unemployed who were necessary to supply labor during expansion or to replace unproductive workers. Population control was considered at that time, but the poor were deemed necessary. In the new managerial society, the poor are a burden, and because so many blacks are poor and/or unemployed, they are particularly vulnerable to elimination by way of gradual population control, or the Law of the Progressive Elimination of Surplus Population. This population control would take several forms: (1) use of the underclass for sociological and scientific experiments; (2) mandatory sterilization of undesirables; (3) mandatory participation in family planning programs; and (4) easier availability of abortions for the underclass. It was also noted that other groups could become endangered species in the managerial society, such as those with mental, physical, and emotional disabilities, and minority races. (BY)

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The Fate of the Underclass in the Managerial Age: The Law of the Progressive Elimination of Surplus Population*

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FORTHCOMING IN SOCIETY 1983

*This paper has been prepared for a featured session on "The Urban Underclass at the American Sociological Association's September 1982 meeting in San Francisco. The author is grateful to Floyd Hayes, Bobbie Horn, and William Wilson for criticisms and suggestions for improvements on a previous draft. Hayes' current research on politics in "post-industrial" society bears a strong relationship to the discussion undertaken here. The author has raised the same issues in rudimentary form in an earlier paper "The Economists, the Minimum Wage, and the Underclass" in Clement Cottingham (ed.) Race, Poverty, and the Urban Underclass (Lexington:D.C. Heath) 1982 pp. 133-56.

I. PRELUDE

In an 1896 publication of the American Economic Association the statistician Frederick Hoffman warned of the imminent disappearance of blacks from the United States:

> ...the colored race is...on the downward grade, tending toward a condition in which matters will be worse than they are now, when diseases will be more destructive, vital resistance still lower, when the number of births will fall below the deaths, and gradual extinction of the race take place.[1]

Hoffman's work, colored by white supremacist ideology, attributed the demise of "the Negro" to an inherent weakness in the black race. Today concrete circumstances are in place that could validate Hoffman's century-old expectations. But the reason will not be, as Hoffman believed, a fundamental weakness in the character and personality make-up of black Americans. Instead, the reason will be the disproportionate presence of blacks in the segment of American society that increasingly is deemed superfluous. The situation is intensified by the rapid development and deployment of techniques, subtle and otherwise, that facilitate control and even elimination of this "unnecessary" population.

The growing marginalization of "the Negro" is a consequence associated with the growing marginalization of the underclass. To fully understand the pessimistic prospects for the underclass requires understanding the fundamental tendencies of contemporary American society. Such tendencies propel the nation toward a social form that is managerial in character, supplanting capitalist society. Arguably these tendencies are global rather than merely national in scope.

Peter Berger has described the emergence of a "New Class [that] is an international phenomenon to be found in all advanced industrial societies."[2] Berger acknowledged the existence of "a parallel phenomenon in the Soviet

orbit..."[3] The late Alvin Gouldner also proclaimed the rise of a "New Class composed of intellectuals and technical intelligensia...in the third world of developing nations, in the second world of the USSR and its client states, and in the first world of late capitalism of North America, Western Europe, and Japan."[4] In the third world, in particular, the "New Class" is represented not only by state bureaucrats but also by the often young and well-educated officer corps in their military establishments.

The emerging managerial society has its own peculiar law of population -- the Law of the Progressive Elimination of Undesirable Population. The operation of this law of population has the grim air about it of a "final solution" to the plight of the poor.

II. MODES OF PRODUCTION AND LAWS OF POPULATION

In distinguishing between various historical epochs Marx focused on differences in the appropriation of surplus labor time. Wrote Marx:

> What distinguishes the various economic formations of society -- the distinction between for example a society based on slave-labor and a society based on wage-labor -- is the form in which surplus labor is in each case extracted from the immediate producer, the worker.[5]

While Marx identified each historical epoch by the mode of extraction of surplus labor, correspondingly each historical epoch possessed its own unique laws of motion. Among these were its laws of population:

> ...every particular historical mode of production has its own special laws of population[6] which are historically valid within that particular sphere.

Once detected, the laws of population for each historical mode of production provide the indicator as to whom constitutes the excess population. Thus the scientific concept of equivalent importance with surplus labor-time is

surplus population.

The surplus population -- the "outcast" element -- has varied with each historical juncture. Anthropologists studying so-called primitive societies have identified a wide array of surplus populations. The Richard Harris movie "A Man Called Horse" depicts a native American tribe where elderly women without sons were left to fend for themselves without support during the harsh winters. They were the surplus population. The community did not take collective responsibility for their survival, and they only were likely to continue to survive if they were "adopted" by another adult male.

The superfluity of the aged -- female o male -- has not been a consistent feature of all societies. In some precapitalist communities the elderly were viewed as repositories of wisdom, storytellers for the young, or even the major decisionmakers. Age was an asset rather than a liability. Who, then, constituted the surplus population? Perhaps it was the disabled or deformed. Perhaps in such communities there was no one who was extraneous to the continuity of its type of civilization. The nature of surplus population in precapitalist societies is a subject that merits additional investigation. But the object of this essay is to explore the nature of surplus population in managerial society and to contrast it with the nature of surplus population under capitalism.

III. THE LAW OF RELATIVE SURPLUS POPULATION

The Classical political economists, especially Malthus, J.S. Mill, and Ricardo, tended to identify the surplus population with the unemployed members of early capitalism's working class. Marx while critiquing the Classical school offered an alternative perspective. He argued that the basic law of population

in the emerging industrial society was the Law of Relative Surplus Population.[7] The very movement of industrialism tended to produce and reproduce a working-class larger than the immediate profit-production requirements in the manufacturing sphere. The basic cause of redundancy among the members of the working class was the process of technical change under capitalism.

The Classical invocation of naturally fixed limits to a country's carrying capacity, i.e. diminishing returns in agriculture, was reduced to mere apologetics in Marx's hands. The claim that surplus population arose from the biological-procreative practices of the working class masked the actual processes at work. But the claim also revealed the contradictory character of the early 19th century impulse toward solving the problem of an excess of workers.

Extreme poverty was characteristic of the "inactive," unused, or unproduction portion of the working class. Nineteenth century policymakers were confronted with the problem of what to do with the inactive element of the industrial reserve of labor. Continuously and frequently unemployed workers were perceived as a potential source of urban crime and unrest as well as a drain on the British national treasury to the extent that Poor Laws were enacted and funded. What the Classicals sensed, but did not openly articulate, was the necessity of the relative surplus population under the regime of industrial capitalism. It was this surplus pool of potential laborers (1) who could be drawn upon during a wave of rapid economic expansion and (2) whose presence could pressure those with employment to perform more cheaply and with greater discipline than otherwise.

At the policy level there was an ambivalence on the population question that reflected the necessity of the relative surplus to capitalism. On the

one hand some expressed the view that the poor were too numerous, too dangerous, and too costly to maintain. This led to their advocacy of population control strategies. On the other hand some expressed the desire to "redeem" the poor -- to make them productive participants in the economic system. The net effect was the appearance that the Classical economists were groping towards identifying a set of policies that would produce an optimal reserve of labor both in terms of size and behavior. Their advocacy of removal of the Poor Laws and control of the mobility of the poor (from work-house to work-house) was consistent with their desire for a surplus population that effectively restrained the rise in wages. Although they could be found taking an anti-populationist stance -- especially the followers of Malthus -- their awareness of the necessity of the surplus population precluded their giving untrammeled vent to population control measures.

Classical population control sentiments were liable to have been directed most forcefully at the lumpen proletariat -- the element of the poor least likely to be made employable and least likely to be employed. In the lowest strata of the reserve of labor the lumpen element were the "natural" rebels against the new order -- "vagabonds, criminals, and prostitues" in Marx's words.[8] Their rebellion, however, was not a phase of a romantic working class outcry against the world of the factory but an array of brutal anti-social and self-deprecating activities.

The difficulty for the 19th century policymakers was their inability to sort out the lumpen element -- the element hindering the effective and orderly operation of the reserve of labor -- from the useful element of the inactive members of the industrial army. Population control measures could not be targetted with sufficient precision to reach only the lumpen proletariat without

depleting the numbers of the necessary members of the reserve of labor. For capitalism's relative surplus population was not entirely superfluous. Ultimately, there had to be a restraint on efforts to control the numbers of the poor since the poor were a necessary element for successful continuity of that particular mode of production.

The truly surplus element of the population under early capitalism was the still powerful remnants of the elite of the dying epoch - the feudal aristocracy. The conflict between the Classical proponents of the rising industrialists and the landlords was most visible in the disputes over the Corn Laws and the question of whether or not to tax rents from the land. The superfluity of the feudal aristocracy from the perspective of capital was evident by the general opposition of Classical political economy to the Corn Laws and its general support for extensive taxation of ground rent.

IV. THE LAW OF PROGRESSIVE ELIMINATION OF UNDESIRABLE POPULATION

The transition from capitalism toward the new type of society - first made visible in the United States by the New Deal in the 1930's - brought into operation a new law of population. Although it cannot be seen clearly because the new society - managerial society - does not exist in pure form, sufficient indications now are cast outward to make the emerging trajectory apparent.

With the ongoing dimunition of socially necessary labor-time (or rising "productivity") under the force of the capitalist economy's propulsive dynamic, labor-power has become less and less essential to the production process. The most recent restructuring of the American economy - the shift from the Northeastern and Midwestern automobile and steel base to the Sun Belt's computer

and electronics base - finally might lead to a decline in the total mass of employment. The first episode of authentic technological unemployment may be on the horizon.

Washington Post staff writer Dan Morgan observed recently:

> Even since the Luddite movement attempted unsuccessfully to prevent the introduction of machinery in England in the early 19th century, pessimists have predicted that new technology would wipe out jobs. Yet each new step up the technological ladder has created new productivity, new wealth, and new jobs.
>
> In the 1950's, there was wide concern about the impact of automation. Yet between 1960 and 1980, the U.S. economy added 30 million jobs and the labor force grew by 50 percent.[9]

But the latest restructuring may result in a quite different net outcome. In the same article, Morgan also reported:

> Yet even the strongest enthusiasts of the new technology acknowledge that the adjustment will be extremely bumpy, with new industries and jobs arising in some parts of the economy while skills rapidly fall into disuse in others.
>
> Juan Rada, a consultant for the International Labor Office whose detailed study of the microelectronics industry was published in 1980, concludes that "we may be facing a transition to a society that no longer needs to make full-time use of its entire potential labor force."[10]

Regardless, whether or not the mass of employment goes up in the aftermath of the current restructuring of the American economy, the underlying social necessity of the particular volume of employment will be lower still. As a consequence the capacity to persuade the working class to take badly paid and unrewarding jobs will decline further. British black labor activist Darcus Howe says without reservation the issue for the labor movement no longer is jobs but leisure:

> "Less work, more money," And that's a vulgarity too. "Less work, more leisure." We have built up over the centuries the technological capacity to release people from that kind of servitude.[11]

Capitalism's own unparalleled development of the means of production has sown the seeds of its own destruction. It has created the material foundation for a society that can support an extensive tier of nonproductive laborers. In the process, it also has nurtured the development of a class within the category of nonproductive laborers characterized by professionalism and scientific - technological expertise - a managerial class.

The notion of a managerial class on the road to power in the United States crystallized in James Burnham's Managerial Revolution published at the start of World War II.[12] A precursor to Burnham's exploration can be found in the issues raised by Lewis Corey in the mid-1930's book The Crisis of the Middle Class.[13] Burnham, in particular, saw a shift in social domination away from those owning corporate America to those performing administrative functions in both the public and private sectors.

The concept of a managerial class used here plainly draws on Burnham's work. The concept also parallels Barbara and John Ehrenreich's "professional-managerial class,"[14] Nicos Poulantzas' "new petty bourgeoisie,"[15] and Daniel Bell's "knowledge-service" class.[16] The managerial class also is consistent with Berger and Gouldner's "New Class." Berger has provided a comprehensive summary of the dimensions and boundaries of the managerial class in the following passage:

> ...the New Class is by no means identical with the categories of "intellectuals" or of the "cultural elite." Like previous classes, the New Class is stratified within itself: in this

> hierarchy, no doubt those deemed to be the cultural elite occupy a high position. Institutionally, prestige universities and other centers of knowledge production (such as think tanks) are centers of New Class power, while publishing houses, periodicals, and foundations serve as distributing agencies.
>
> Below these elite institutions, however, there is a much larger complex of New Class population in the lower reaches of the educational system; in analogy to the old petite bourgeoisie this population could be called the petty New Class. Then, of course, there is the powerful center of the national communications media (very easily identified in the American case), which is allied with the cultural elite through a network of interlocking occupational positions. Then too there is the vast complex of occupations that provide services through the administration of symbols, most though not all in the public sector of employment - the people who staff the welfare and regulatory agencies on all levels of government, the planning and propaganda arms of these agencies, and the miscellaneous therapeutic, guidance, and counseling institutions. However, one may eventually delineate the boundaries of the New Class, it is clear that, though still a minority of the overall population, it comprises a sizable proportion of that population - in America it no doubt numbers in the millions.[17]

Gouldner has described the New Class compactly "as encompassing both technical intelligentsia and intellectuals."[18]

Some members of the managerial class are quite self-conscious of their own class position, for example, those academics who dwell on the collapse of the industrial age and the end of the veneration of its icons. However, the argument that follows does not require the managerial class' members to display thorough class self-consciousness and unity of purpose. All it requires is that the social managers perform their normal day to day professional tasks, given their usual and diverse ideological predilictions.

With the climb to dominance of the managerial class, there has been a simultaneous shift in the locus of political decisionmaking. Under capitalism parliamentary institutions became the centers of legislative activity. Burnham anticipated that the new center of collective authority would be the executive branch of the government under managerial society. But the thrust of managerial society is ultimately to divorce the pivot of political control from the voting public even further. In the managerial age it is the judiciary - the province of judges and lawyers - that increasingly becomes the decisive arena for political action. This is the eventual outcome of the expanding embrace of so-called "public law litigation."[19]

With the rise to dominance of the managerial class, society's motion no longer is motivated by the pursuit of profit. Instead its motion comes to be governed by managerial notions of the perfect society and managerial programs for how to get from here to there. Intrinsically neutral in ideology the "new" class displays a wide heterogeneity in perspectives on the ideal world. Intra-class conflict thus is rooted in ideological differences. Characteristic is the recent attack on the "neo-conservatives" from the left-wing of the managerial class that appeared in a recent issue of the Village Voice.[20] But both branches, whether left or right, share the common view that society must be organized by those who possess the requisite expertise, intelligence and wherewithal. Both branches also concoct strategies for copying with those whom they perceive lack the expertise, intelligence, and wherewithal to direct a society. The only exception is a small anarcho-libertarian fraction of the "New Class" that repudiates the desirability of efforts to form collective organizations.

But even this fraction senses that they still would be on top if the world reverts to a "state of nature."

As capitalism's money-finance elite yields, albeit begrudgingly, to the scientific-technological elite, the very cultural fabric of the society is torn and transformed into an entirely new shape. As this transformation occurs there comes a growing willingness to articulate the view that there is no need for a reserve of labor and, in a longer run context, no need for the entire working class.

To the extent that profit-seeking also is ruled out of court as a raison d'etre for the new world - and the extent is a key factor in the dispute between left and right wing fractions of the managerial class - the capitalists themselves also are rendered unnecessary. They also become part of managerial society's surplus population. The unspoken dream of the "new" class is to be the only class. The social management function thus becomes a temporary expedient until the world is "freed" from both capital and labor, leaving the intellectuals and research scientists in solitary hegemony to enjoy the material and spiritual fruits of the good life.

Managerial pragmatism affords the capitalists the possibility of gradual absorption into the new elite. The sons and daughters of the super-rich can reject their parents' legacy and seek the newer world. They clearly have the wealth to make the choice painlessly. Alternatively, capital steadily will be crowded out of existence as greater and greater control over the economy is ceded to a public sector under managerial control. The democratic socialists ongoing push for reindustrialization via selective investment by the government in centrally designated leading sectors reveals further pos-

sibilities for the final death blow to be administered to the independence and power of corporate capital.[21]

It is with the working class, however, that the operation of the new law of population is most apparent. The restraint on population control set by the necessity of the working class under capitalism lifts entirely in the managerial age. The contemporary excess population no longer is an excess relative to the immediate requirements of industrial capital. Today's excess population is identified, instead, at the whims of the new elite.

Managerial Utopianism - whether of the "left" of "right" wing variety - spurs the new elite to sort the "desirables" from the "undesirables" on esthetic criteria. The contemporary surplus population is defined subjectively in terms of the tastes and preferences of the managerial class based upon that class' vision of who belongs in the "good society." In the absence of the restraint on efforts to promote population control in the industrial age, the operation of the new law of population in the managerial age will unleash an unparalleled assault on the numbers of the surplus population. This new law of population can be called the Law of the Progressive Elimination of Undesirable Population.

In principle, managerial society's surplus population encompasses the entire working class. In practice, as long as the world has not reached the stage where all production can be performed solely by the application of machinery, some members of the working class will remain useful in the managerial class' eyes. Least useful from the social managers' perspective are those members of the working class most distant from performing the residual work needed

in the new age - in particular the underclass.

Strictly speaking the "underclass" is not a class. Rather it is a fraction of the working class - the lowest portion of the working class. This portion is least frequently employed and the most desperately poor. The underclass in the United States coincides with sociologist William Wilson's description - those in poverty, disproportionately black, disproportionately comprised of families headed by women, and confronted day-in and day-out with the tenuousness of survival.[22] A product of capitalism the underclass, thus far, survives into the managerial age. Why are the prospects for continued survival so bleak? Why will the managerial class continuously turn toward exterminative policies rather than more "benign" or "humane" policies toward the underclass?

The answer is because the more "benign" or "humane" policies are fraught with frustrating contradictions for the social managers. Income transfer programs have not removed the poor from poverty or dependency on government distributed resources. The net effect seems to have been the development of a population that lives almost exclusively on government payments. Moreover, these programs generate antagonism from the non-recipient population that supports these programs through tax payments. This results in a backlash against not only the recipients but also the managerial architects of the programs.

Spatial isolation of the underclass is another alternative to an emphasis on population control, but it has not proven easy to get the underclass to stay put within designated areas. The Los Angeles Times recently did a series of reports on the hysteria being aroused by "marauders" from Los Angeles' inner city black and Chicano ghettos who "prey upon the surburban middle and

upper classes, sometimes with senseless savagery."[23] Fear of the "marauders" is so great that the few middle or upper income blacks who live in areas that are affluent and predominantly white often find themselves in physical danger from police officers who assume that the only reason a black will be found in such neighborhoods is to commit robberies or other acts of violence.[24]

Military participation appears to be another way to get a substantial part of the underclass out of the way without - except during war time - reducing their numbers. But there is now evidence that members of the European high command - displaying their own latent racism - are expressing complaints about the excessive black presence in the U.S. army which forms the core of the NATO alliance forces.[25]

Massive imprisonment of the underclass is another option short of literal elimination. But already major strains are emerging in the nation's efforts to maintain its prison systems - in terms not only of sheer expense but also because of the internal tensions of the prison communities which frequently boil over into terrifying riots. Unless imprisonment for crimes is lifelong, and, therefore, non-remediable in any sense, many members of the prison population can return to the outside with the potential for returning to criminal activity.

In general, the underclass does not seem to respond to programs that prescribe increased social mobility. Its members do not move in significant numbers up the social ladder. Aside from rare individual exceptions, programs that aim to change the members of the underclass into people like the members of the managerial class do not work. William Wilson, among others, fears that the underclass may have become a permanent feature of modern society. But,

in fact, steps already are underway to remove altogether the underclass from the manager's world.

V. THE NEW EUGENICS

It is the fear that their new world may have to carry indefinitely a dysfunctional segment of the population that makes the "final solution" - the progressive elimination of the underclass - a more and more attractive option for the social managers. A program of gradual elimination of the underclass via population control measures is preferred by the managers because (1) it is less visible and hence less likely to arouse resistance and (2) it can be projected as a program engineered on behalf of, rather than against, the underclass. The managerial class can invoke the essential "humanitarianism" of preventing more children from being born into the suffering of poverty. For example, economist Victor Fuchs in a recent editorial has advocated adoption of a national program to reduce the number of children born to unmarried women, ostensibly to reverse a pattern of "increasing misery" faced by mothers and offspring.[26] Fuchs' claims that such a program would be beneficial to women with a high probability of becoming unwed mothers and to the nation as a whole are unsurprising. This is merely an indicator of a more general pattern of class activity described by Berger as follows; "As Marx showed persuasively with regard to the rise of the bourgeoisie, it is far from unusual for a rising class to claim that its own interests are in the general interest of the society and most especially in the interest of the downtrodden."[27] And Gouldner made the still more profound point that "As teachers, intellectuals come to be defined, and to define themselves, as responsible for and 'representative' of society as a whole. . ."[28]

Thus, it becomes incumbent upon the managerial class to identify the types of families that produce individuals that fall into their category of undesirables. Then population control measures can be targetted to reduce the numbers born into such families. Social science research becomes the handmaiden of this effort, isolating the conditions most likely to produce the "wrong" types of offspring. Epitomizing this direction is Frank Levy's efforts in the mid-1970's to set up a scheme for predicting in advance who would become members of the underclass.[29] Based upon such findings the managerial class, with no material restraints remaining on the extension of population control measures, will promote a virtually unlimited application of methods to prevent and to terminate pregnancies among the "undesirables."

The implications for blacks as a whole are devastating. Overrepresented in the underclass the black poor will take the brunt of the onslought. But the black middle class will not be immune to the consequences of an unrestrained population control effort either. To the extent that the black middle class functions to "service" the black masses, its own necessity is rendered dubious as the new law of population operates to decimate the numbers of the underclass. Moreover if blackness is viewed as a strong predictor of undesirability - if blackness strongly correlates with various types of undesired behaviors - the Law of the Progressive Elimination of Undesirable Population will not sort carefully between the black underclass and the black middle class. After all, the material necessity for either group will have gone with the wind. Thus blacks as a whole become the victims of a cumulative process of planned obsolescence.

Therefore, the Law of the Progressive Elimination of Undesirable Population is merely a statement of the genocidal tendencies of population control measures in the new age. The existence of groups that contain a larger proportion of the modern "excess" or "undesirable" population will be threatened with extinction by the more extensive application of population control measures.

Melville Herskovits once warned black Americans, when blacks still were perceived as having lost all vestiges of their African heritage, "A people that denies its past cannot escape being prey to doubt of its value today and of its potentialities for the future."[30] Paraphrasing Herskovits one can write today, "A people without a firm foothold in the new age of science and technology cannot escape being prey to doubt of its value today and of its potentialities for the future." Such doubt should be at the forefront of the minds of black Americans, given the tendencies of managerial society.

If managerial society finds any use for its outcasts or undesirables it will be primarily as objects of experiments. Experimental failures then can be heaped on the "unelect" before the fruits of experimental successes are distributed to the "elect." The "excess population" serves as the food-tasters for the royalty. Blacks have a long experience in serving as guinea pigs in the unfolding of managerial society. Most notorious is the infamous Tuskegee study where 431 black syphillis victims were left untreated for 40 years to allow medical researchers to study the effects on the human body. The victims never were informed that they were part of an experiment.

In addition, blacks have been a prominent element as the subject of various social experiments aimed at "uplifting" the poor. From the New Deal to the Great Society the list encompasses manpower and training programs, urban

redevelopment programs, and antidiscrimination legislation. Blacks also have figured significantly in "controlled" experiments run by social scientists, the most notable example being the income maintenance experiments in the 1970's.

A secondary purpose for the surplus population may be as entertainers. The untutored "folk art" of the underclass may capture the imagination and interest of some members of the managerial class. This will be characterized for the most part by an absence of a display of analytical talent. The genius of the underclass artists -- whether in music, dance, or sports -- will be described instead as natural, instinctive, and spontaneous. Some members of the managerial class may champion saving sufficient numbers of the underclass to preserve this "folk art."

But the fundamental tendency will be a slow extermination of the outcasts from the new age. Family planning programs -- typically described by its advocates as a cost-effective means of solving the poverty problem -- will be of great importance. Donald Bogue and Amy Ong Tsui have provided persuasive evidence of the great "successes" of family planning programs in reducing Third World fertility.[31] "Successes" have been pronounced among the poor in the United States as well.

Former president of the South Atlantic Association of Obstetricians and Gynecologists, Dr. John McCain, applauded population control efforts in rural Georgia undertaken during the 1960's:

> ...success had been reported by Dr. Roger W. Rochat of the family planning program for the seven rural counties in Georgia which were involved in it. The white general fertility rate fell from 107.4 per 1000 in 1960 to 80.1 per 1000 in 1968. The decrease in the Negro general fertility rate was especially notable since it was nearly three times as great in all age categories as occured in seven comparably matched control counties.[32]

McCain attributed these sharp drops in fertility rates in the experimental counties to the general outcome of the provision of family planning services.

Similar results were described by Dr. Joseph Beasley, then Director of the Louisians Family Planning Program, a research and demonstration program conducted by Family Planning, Inc., after it had been in effect for five years for the poor women of Lincoln Parish:

> From 1964 to 1968 there was a decline in indigent births of 44% in Lincoln Parish, compared to a decline of 25% in four surrounding control parishes which were similar to Lincoln in all respects except that they had no organized family planning programs.[33]

At the same hearings California Congressman Paul McCloskey decried the high welfare costs in his affluent San Mateo County which he attributed to 615 illegitimate births during the previous year. He called for expanded family planning services as a solution.[34] Dr. Allan Guttmacher of the Planned Parenthood Federation chimed in "...we hope that if we can have pregnancies by desire, not by chance, we will have a cutting down of welfare rolls."[35]

Local family planning programs sound the same themes when seeking public financial support. Consider, for example, the following portion of a July 4, 1981 letter from the Board of the Planned Parenthood organization in Austin, Texas:

> If we cannot [continue to] provide [family planning] services, those who will suffer most are:
>
> -The poor, who are dependent on our services for their reproductive health care. With family planning, an indigent woman has a better chance of freeing herself from the bondage of the poverty cycle.
>
> -The teenager, who is learning about sex in the streets, from television and movies, and from unfit literature. Our education programs provide teenagers with the knowledge to make informed decisions about their sexuality.
>
> -The young mother and her family who are barely getting by. An unplanned pregnancy could relegate them to the

> welfare rolls. Maintaining her family size with our services enables her to work as an independent, productive member of the community.
>
> -Fathers who have reached their family goals and want to have va[illegible]ies but can't afford them. Austin men are taking respo[illegible]ility for family planning through the vasectomy program offered by Planned Parenthood.[36]

Here is a clear articulation of the sentiments of the managerial class -- first, the targetting of the population control measures toward those at the bottom in income and status and second, the "humanitarian" claim that such measures are in the best interest of those at the bottom.

Proposals for mandatory abortions for unmarried girls and sterilization for welfare mothers also follow the same path. They voice the new law of population which promises the "fine tuning" to rid society of the undesirables -- "fine tuning" the Classical economists did not perceive as possible.

A deeper expression of the sentiment guiding the law is evident in the everyday utterances of Nobel Laureate Linus Pauling. In 1976 before a Congressional hearing Pauling advocated a gradual reduction of the U.S. population to an "optimum" of 150 million persons. But which 70-80 million would be targets for reduction? An editorial writer for Howard University's student newspaper quickly drew the inference that high on the list for reduction in numbers would be blacks and native Americans.[37]

Usually portrayed as a great humanitarian, Pauling's current research concerns point toward even more terrifying dimensions of the workings of the new law of population. His current research concern is with the "optimum concentration" of "various natural substances" in the body. This interest allegedly arises from a desire to manipulate levels of natural chemicals in the body ("orthomolecular medicine") to treat diseases such as cancer or mental illness.[38] Treatment of disease is only the bright side of the moon. The dark side is that

the chemical composition of the body can be altered to destroy as well. For there is an inherent dualism in the great strides made in medical technology. An expanded knowledge of how to heal is matched by a greater knowledge of how to produce disease and death.

Moreover, Pauling's current research interests also bridge directly into the underground world of ethnic-specific weaponry. These are, according to Dr. Richard Hammerschlag, "chemical and biological warfare agents... designed to exploit naturally existing differences in gene frequencies among population groups."[39] This could include exploitation of the absence of blood group type B among American Indians or the presence of sickle cell trait in black Americans. One would hope that such weapons never will be put to use. But the tendency in managerial society is to try anything once the technique has been developed.

The interaction between scientific experimentation and the excess population reemerges in an article by Attorney Marlene Lehtinen where she advocates attempting various bizarre behavior modification schemes with prisoners. These include brain implant devices that deliver a shock whenever a parolee violates the geographic limits of his assigned territory for parole.[40] Again it reflects a willingness to try anything -- on those who do not matter.

Genetic engineering, environmental modification (climate, air, land, etc.), psychochemical drugs, and general physiological technology all are research areas that provide vast means for elimination of the surplus population. The unlimited development of science, therefore, means unlimited potential to remove forever managerial society's "undesirables."

VI. ANOTHER LOOK AT THE ABORTION QUESTION

The surplus population that is not fodder for human experiments will not

be maintained; many never will be born. Depopulation of the surplus will most likely take place under the illusion of "voluntary" individual choices over reproductive destiny. Population control, even when conceived as non-coercive family planning services, becomes an ingenius way of shifting the genocidal decision onto the shoulders of the victims themselves.

If, for instance, blackness and illegitimacy confirm one's status as a member of the excess population, then legalization and federal funding of abortions facilitates operation of the Law of Progressive Elimination of Undesirable Population. Without these two conditions women from the underclass have their children rather than seek illegal abortions. Dr. Carl Tyler of the Centers for Disease Control reported recently:

> In August 1977, Federal funds for financing abortions of medicaid eligible women were restricted. In order to study the health impact of this restriction, CDC reviewed medical records of women with abortion complications in three cities for 1 year before and 1 year during the restriction. A similar analysis was done for three cities where public funding for legal abortions had not been restricted.
>
> Assuming that the number of complications reflects the number of abortions, we found that the restriction of public funding for legal abortions had not increased the number of illegal abortions, but that it reduced the number of legal abortions obtained by poor women.[41]

The issuance of public funds for abortions apparently increased the numbers of poor women who chose not to complete their pregnancies. The removal of those funds led more of them to have children. This fact contains another profound message about the nature of managerial society and the underclass. It reveals a monumental degree of degradation when the decisive factor in determining whether or not a mother has another child becomes how much it would cost her to have an abortion.

Indeed, easier availability of abortion can have dramatic effects. In

Washington D.C. -- a city that is 70% black -- the total number of abortions performed annually on D.C. residents now exceeds the total number of live births. Accompanying this development has been a decline in the black birth rate among District residents from 24 per 1000 women in the child-bearing years in 1970 to 16.5 in 1979 -- a decline of 31.3%.[42]

This appears to be a less than innocent development when weighed against the continued high black infant mortality rate in the District. In fact, the reported infant death rate rose in the city to 24.6 per 1000 live births in 1980, 10% higher than in 1979. A declining birth rate among blacks in the capitol, attributable in large measure to increased access to abortions, is coupled with a consistently high infant mortality rate.[43] This mix foreshadows a precipitous decline in the black population of the District, independent of the effects of out-migration!

The ideological force of feminist urgings that women should have the right to choose whether or not to have a child obscures the fundamental momentum associated with the widening application of technologies to restrict the fertility of the underclass. In the last instance abortion is merely another procedure for hastening the elimination of the surplus population under managerial society.

VII. THE FATE OF THE UNDERCLASS

The consolidation of managerial society spells the doom of the underclass. Managerial population policy steadily will erode the numbers of the underclass, preserving at most -- in the manner of historical preservationists -- only those whose artistic talents are deemed worthy. Erosion of the numbers of the underclass is the wedge that signals the threat to the existence of all black Americans.

But the danger to the underclass is not uniquely limited to the underclass. Nor is the danger limited to blacks. For the status of "undesirability" can vary

greatly from moment to moment, due to the ideological fluidity of the managerial class. "Endangered species" might include all of the following:

(1) The culturally "undesirable" -- the illiterate, the uneducated, the "illegitimately" born, the "disadvantaged," the poor.

(2) The mentally "undesirable" -- the low IQ, the retarded, the insane.

(3) The physically "undesirable" -- the deformed, the handicapped, the aged, infirm.

(4) The racially "undesirable" -- the black, the red, the brown, the yellow.

(5) The behaviorally undesirable -- the criminal, the street urchin, the unruly, the undisciplined, the hyperactive child.

This list stretches far beyond the boundaries of the black population or even the entire underclass. It would recruit persons from various social groups for expendability. Obviously it would tend to recruit more persons from the bottom, but the hand of managerial society would touch all segments. The impact already is pronounced for native Americans. Over twenty-five percent of native American women in the childbearing years have been sterilized.[44]

A century later Hoffman's forecast appears disturbingly valid after all-- but for the wrong reasons. For the rising managerial class shows no remorse for those classes surviving the vanquished age. The managerial class poses a limited alternative -- everyone must become a "manager" or not exist at all. It is a grim choice.

Can these tendencies be reversed? A backward looking countertendency is embodied in the capitalists' own struggle against the managerial class to resurrect a society based on rule of the business interests. This would make the surplus population potentially useful once again. It is a struggle being waged under the aegis of the Reagan administration. Perhaps this effort will succeed in restoring capitalism to glory in the United States -- but in past historical experience sooner or later the new order uproots the old whether in a dramatic revolutionary

instant or in a grinding war of attrition. And even with a successful capitalist restoration, the surplus population becomes only residually necessary and must remain in persistent poverty.

Others may seek a forward-looking response in the diffusion of expertise—seeking to change "expert-ness" from the exclusive domain of a few to the inclusive domain of the many. Presumably this would mean substantially more than resistance to the managerial class by a reactionary anti-intellectualism. It would mean instead, the authentic dispersal of intellectual skills broadly among the population and the authentic demystification of science. This would make the nation's school system a site of deep strategic importance. For what happens in the schools would determine the extent to which science and technology become popularly accessible. The battle to be waged to mount a countertendency to the Law of Progressive Elimination of Undesirable Population would center on the universality of quality education.

The difficulty here is the "enlightenment" flavor of uplifting the lowly and the paradoxical acceptance of managerial standards of human quality. The dispersal of technical knowledge ultimately reduces to "if you can't beat 'em join 'em." If it worked everyone would, in fact, finally fit the managerial mold.

There is also, in the end, an ethical position which, if adhered to, might support a countertendency as well. This is a moral principle that has it that no one can nor should be allowed to judge who deserves to live or die. No one can or should decide whose life is worth continuing. No one can or should decide whose children merit birth. It is an ethical position -- proclaiming the absolute sanctity of all human life -- that offers a moral barrier to the genocidal tendencies of managerial society.

This, however, still leaves open the political question of making such a

moral position socially effective. It is a crucial question, especially since the authority of institutions for expression of mass political sentiment has been eroded in favor of the authority of an activist judiciary. It is a crucial question, especially because the ideological fluidity of the managerial class permits them to move to "adopt" and thereby subvert the same ethical position that would undercut their hegemony. Thus the central issue of the late twentieth century and the next century must be the matter of where will the resistance come from to keep the neo-Malthusian desires for thoroughly managed population growth an unfulfilled fantasy in the face of the managerial class' efforts to transform them into the core of reality. At base it is simultaneously a matter of color and class, thus posing with brutal clarity the basic puzzle of survival for "the Negro."

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